PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Volume 2 May-June 1955 Number 3

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL REMARKS
..... 56
Why Not Anthropology?..... 56

ARTICLES
Culture and Superculture.....William A. Smalley 58
Brief Notes on the Mission Activity at Cuchibamba Ecuador, A Sierra Quechua Community.(I).....
.....William and Marie Reyburn 72

REVIEW
Deloria, Ella. Speaking of Indians.....
.....James O. Buswell, III 86

NOTES AND NEWS
..... 87

NEW SUBSCRIBERS
..... 88

Editor

Robert B. Taylor
2330-1 Patterson Drive
Eugene, Oregon

Editorial Committee

William A. Smalley
Eugene A. Nida
Marie Fetzer Reyburn
James O. Buswell, III

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/practical-anthropology_may-june-1955_2_3

EDITORIAL REMARKS

This Issue

We are pleased to be able to publish the remarks by William A. Smalley on the subject of cultural relativism. A keen interest in this problem has been indicated in correspondence from the readers, and perhaps no individual is more qualified to deal with the subject from a Christian viewpoint than Mr. Smalley, who has both professional anthropological training and missionary experience. At present Smalley is with the American Bible Society.

In this issue we begin the first installment of the report prepared by Dr. and Mrs. William Reyburn for a mission near Quito, Ecuador. We publish the report as an example of the first study of this kind attempted by anthropologically oriented evangelical Christians. This initial study among the Quechua of Ecuador provided the background of experience for the longer and more mature study made by the Reyburns among the Toba of Argentina. In spite of the fact that the Toba report recently has been published by the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities it seemed desirable to put this significant pioneer study in the hands of our readers, not only as an example of what can be done in missionary anthropology and as a foretaste of the Toba report, but also as an aid to those who may be working among the Quechua. As indicated above, the Toba study is more complete; the investigators were able to do a more thorough job there than they were among the Quechua and were able to profit from their initial work in Ecuador. The Toba report will be reviewed in the next issue with instructions as to how to obtain a copy of this very significant publication.

Why Not Anthropology?

In a recent publication from one of our Christian colleges I notice that the school is initiating a program in pre-engineering, designed to offer engineering students training in a Christian liberal arts college. I wish to

raise the question as to whether it is more important in terms of the Christian objectives of schools like this to institute a program in pre-engineering or a program in anthropology. It is interesting that a reason commonly given by Christian schools for not developing a program in anthropology is that, in view of their size, financial problems, etc., it is not feasible to do so. This implies that anthropology is not considered important enough, or as important as some other subjects, in terms of the school's objectives. Anthropology is regarded, apparently, as a subject good to have after many more important things have been taken care of.

I very much want it to be understood clearly that this observation does not express a critical spirit on my part toward the school in question or the action it has taken. I regard it as one of the top three or four Christian colleges in the country. The action in setting up programs such as pre-engineering before giving consideration to anthropology reflects the fact that Christian educators have had little or no opportunity to acquire an appreciation of the importance of anthropology in Christian education. This action merely provides us with one more illustration of the fact that anthropology programs will be given little consideration in our growing Christian schools until we are able to demonstrate the importance of anthropological training for Christian service. Correspondingly, it also shows that, in spite of financial and other growing pains, these schools <u>will</u> go ahead with programs which they consider to be important. Over 25 per cent of the graduates of one school are missionaries, but anthropology is not regarded as an important part of their preparation. The point is that we who have come to a realization of the significant value of anthropology for Christians can not expect Christian educators to initiate anthropology programs unless we are able to impress them with their importance. We should seriously and prayerfully consider this significant aspect of our task. I solicit any ideas the reader may have as to what can be said and done in this direction.

CULTURE AND SUPERCULTURE

William A. Smalley

In his article, "Cultural Relativism for the Christian," Robert B. Taylor[1] raises once more the problem which is focal in Christian thinking on anthropological themes: What is relative and what is absolute in Christianity? As he rightly points out, the answer to the question is crucial in the practical working of Christian missions and to the Christian witness. William J. Samarin's note in the same issue of Practical Anthropology dissents strongly from any relativistic view.[2]

Nida has added recently to the discussion under the phrasing of "relative relativity."[3] Noting that the attitudes of some cultural anthropologists are those of "absolute relativity" (i.e., that everything must be seen only in the light of the way the people themselves see it) and rejecting that "dogma of absolute cultural relativity,"[4] he goes on to talk of "relative relativity" as being a Biblical position. He points out that "the relativism of the Bible is relative to three principle factors: (1) the endowment and opportunities of people, (2) the extent of revelation, and (3) the cultural patterns of the society in question." He gives Biblical examples for each.[5] Nida's conclusion is as follows: "Biblical relativism is not a matter of inconsistency, but a recognition of the different cultural factors which influence standards and actions. While the Koran attempts to fix for all time the behavior of all Muslims, the Bible clearly establishes the principle of relative relativism, which permits growth, adaptation, and freedom, under the Lordship of Jesus Christ. The Bible presents realistically the facts of culture and the plan of God, by which He continues to work in the hearts of men 'till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Ephesians 4:13). The Christian position is not one of static conformance to dead rules, but of dynamic obedience to a living God."[6]

The whole question might well be phrased in the following form: Granted that there is a God above and beyond all

human culture, that He had revealed Himself to man in several cultural forms (notably the Holy Scriptures and the life of His Son, lived as a man partaking fully of the life of a particular human culture), and that He has taken an active interest in parts of man's cultural behavior through time, proscribing and prescribing at various times and places; granted also that most (if not all) culture has developed through time by natural processes of development in different times and places, that particular forms in one place may have a completely different meaning in terms of function than what nearly identical forms do in another place, that God has at various historical periods proscribed certain forms of behavior which He has not proscribed at other times, that He has emphasized as highly desirable certain forms of behavior which He has not proscribed at other times, and that the heavy emotional attachment which people normally have for the familiar pattern (i.e., ethnocentrism) colors and distorts judgement; granted all this, what in human experience is God's absolute, unchanging, permanent will, and what is His will for particular times and places, and what is neutral?

In a footnote[7] Nida says, "The only absolute in Christianity is the Triune God. Anything which involves man, who is finite and limited, must of necessity be limited, and hence relative. Biblical cultural relativism is an obligatory feature of our incarnational religion, for without it we would either absolutize human institutions or relativize God."

With this I (who, with Marie Fetzer Reyburn, suggested the terminological contrast "culture" and "superculture")[8] agree, except that I would say that the supercultural, the absolute, is the Triune God, specifically including His attributes, His nature, and His will--not in terms of His immediate will for specific people and specific events (which will is relative to the people and the events), but His ultimate, over-all will which is part of His nature and which stems from His nature. Any outworking of His will, it must be emphasized, must of necessity be relative to human finiteness, human limitations, human differences of

personality, language, and culture. It is in the understanding of God's ultimate nature and will, and in the adapting of our behavior to conform to it as much as we can within the limits of our cultural finiteness (i.e., in following His immediate will relative to our situation) and in understanding the same for the people to whom we minister here and abroad, that the difficulty comes.

The corollary would then be that factors not stemming immediately from God, His nature and will, are not absolute --that culture is relative. The great difference between the relativity of the Christian anthropologist and the "absolute relativist" of which Nida speaks is that the Christian anthropologist studies culture as relative not only to other culture, or to the viewpoint of the people who live the culture, or to the particular culture itself but also to the supercultural level. Many non-Christian anthropologists, as Taylor points out,[9] are not really "absolute relativists". They allow for universal values but do not know what these values are. The Christian does know something, at least, of the nature of the supercultural, but does not know all, and what he does know is colored by the cultural screen through which he must know anything he does know.

The term "supercultural" would be best not applied to any cultural behavior if it is to remain a useful term. Particularly should we avoid saying that any cultural behavior which may be prescribed or proscribed by God for a given time or place, or for all time, is supercultural. It may be in this sense a kind of "relative absolute" in that a Christian is not allowed a choice in his particular situation, but the behavior is still cultural. The term supercultural should be reserved for that which is truly beyond culture--for God Himself, His nature, attributes and character, for the moral principles which stem from what He is (but not for particular acts of behavior which may attempt to fulfil those principles), for His plan and total will, (again in terms of man's relationship to God, the fall and temptation, not in terms of individual events in the history of man). As I have pointed out elsewhere, "the Church

as the 'bride of Christ'...is supercultural. Churches, their organization and rituals, are not."[10]

Samarin injects a dissenting note into the discussion.[11] He insists on the primacy of "theology" over "anthropology", saying that anthropological questions can be taken up only after theological ones. Under theology he apparently includes church government, church leadership and "a myriad of problems, especially among the so-called primitive peoples, such as theft, polygamy, premarital sexual relations, lying, lay and/or clergy marriages, etc."[12] Later he says, "An anthropologist describes but a Christian prescribes. He believes that God has revealed a system which is absolutely right, valid for every society during every epoch."

Samarin specifically disagrees with Horner when the latter says, "The question of the validity of leaders at all and their position in their society should be a subject of anthropological study before they are imposed upon an unsuspecting society."[13] (Horner is referring to "leaders" by Western conceptions of what a leader should be: "... should show creative ability, independent judgments, initiative, etc."[14] He mentions the basic leadership pattern of the Bulu, which is that of a man who has fulfilled the "wealth-goals" of the society.) Samarin goes on to say, "Thus he appears to suggest that because the New Testament type of church leaders might be foreign to a certain society, one would be wise not to introduce them. This, to use his illustration, would be changing arithmetic so that poor Jack could understand it!"[15]

Samarin overlooks one of the supreme characteristics of God's grace to man, the fact that God changed the arithmetic repeatedly so that Jack could understand it. The very fact that the Revelation came through language, a finite cultural medium, limits the Revelation, and limitation is a change. The fact that Revelation came through the life of Jesus Christ, God's Son, living out a typical world culture, modifies the Revelation, for it gives it the cast

and hue of a particular finite culture at a particular period of time.

When Jesus said, "Ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time...but I say unto you..."[16] God was changing the arithmetic so that Jack could know more about it than Jack's grandparents knew.[17] All church history records the changes which have taken place in the cultural superstructure of Christianity. This does not mean that the supercultural has changed. The supercultural is God, His personality, His over-all will, His principles. The cultural manifestations of the supercultural change, and are relative to the particular situation.

But since Samarin raises the question of "theology" vs. "anthropology" it might be well to discuss just what theology is in the light of our present formulation. Theoretically, of course, theology is the study of God. That would make it the study of the supercultural. Actually, it historically has been the philosophical study of almost anything identified with Christianity, from God to Christian dogma, Christian behavior, Christian society, organization, dress, etc. The subject matter of theology has been therefore largely cultural.

The great contribution which anthropology can make to theology is a clearer understanding of culture, as I have pointed out elsewhere.[18] The distinction, then, of "first the theological and then the anthropological"[19] is fuzzy to say the least, for theology studies culture--and often without the finesse of anthropological study of culture. It is as though we were to insist that "historical" judgments were to be made before "ones based on ancient records" or "archaeological" questions were to be solved before "stratigraphic" ones, or that we consider "culture history" first and then "archaeology."

I see no other valid dichotomy than that between "supercultural" and "cultural," between "absolute" and "relative." That does not mean that theology is not a valid study. Rather, insistence must be made on

recognition of the fact that the study of theology is in large part a study of a segment of culture from a certain viewpoint, and as such it can well profit from the light thrown upon culture by anthropology.

To say that theology should have primacy over anthropology in mission problems is to say that a philosophic system which has studied certain aspects of culture but without particular benefit of scientific discoveries should have priority over a scientific system of studying culture. It is perfectly admissible that theology subsume the areas of thinking Samarin mentions, but when it does so it is "playing anthropology" and cannot afford to leave out anthropological considerations. I agree fully with Samarin's stated conclusion, though not with what he implies in it: "Let us ignore neither theology nor anthropology, but let us understand their functions."

An abstract answer to the question formulated as a basis of this paper is that what we have defined as the supercultural is absolute and unchanging. What we have defined as the cultural is relative and changing. Within the cultural field there may be particular aspects of cultural behavior which have always been and always will be wrong relative to God's over-all will. It might be assumed, that a refusal to recognize the rightful place of God and the persons of the Trinity would be an example. But even here the problem can be misleading because it is very clear from Scriptural record that God has recognized and allowed for a tremendous range of understanding of Himself, relative to the cultural understanding of the people--as in the time of Noah, or Abraham, or Isaiah, or Jesus (and note how Jesus expected more from the Jews than from the Gentiles).

Within the cultural field there are again certainly many aspects of behavior which are right or wrong relative to other cultural factors (as well as to the supercultural will of God). Thus God's will in one time or place may not be His in another (speaking here of His will in relation to cultural behavior, not His supercultural will).

Finally, most cultural behavior is probably completely neutral from any moral standpoint in relation to culture or superculture. The choice between Wheaties and cornflakes is amoral in most contexts, but it is easy to see how, in a particular cultural situation, it might not be for some people. An example might be the box of Wheaties which had been stolen in a store robbery and given to someone as a bribe to keep him from telling what he knew about the robbery.

Adoption of the viewpoint expressed here will not automatically solve the practical problems involved, however. Robert Zap uses an illustration about a Dutch Reformed minister and his new congregation, which had the habit of working in its gardens on Sunday. Zap says, "His mistake was in trying to uproot immediately a trait which had been a functioning part of the culture of these people for many years. Today the effects of this situation still are hindering the work of the Dutch Reformed minister. An anthropologically trained pastor educated to be aware of cultural differences might have avoided the development of a situation which continues to hinder the Lord's work."[20]

But even the "anthropologically trained" person "educated to be aware of cultural differences" may be stopped short by the question, "Is it, or is it not right for the Christian to work on Sunday?" The question, so put, really cannot be answered. The problem can be met and answered honestly and consistently only to the measure that the answerer honestly includes the factor of God's dealing with man's culture. He must know what is meant in the question by "work" for one thing, and anyone who doubts the relativity of the Biblical interpretation of work need only study the efforts of the legalists in Jewish history to "absolutize" it. When Jesus healed on the Sabbath and "broke" it repeatedly to insist that "the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath"[21] He was insisting on a relative view of a cultural institution (relative to man's needs) even though the institution had been commanded by God.

The question of the Ten Commandments is sometimes raised in this connection. The argument is often used that most of the Old Testament law was for Israel in a period of its development only (and therefore relative) but that the Ten Commandments are for all time (and therefore absolute). It seems to me that this viewpoint reflects the fact that in the Ten Commandments we come as close as almost anywhere in the Scriptures (along with passages on the "fruits of the Spirit" and kindred ideas, and with the Sermon on the Mount) to a statement of the supercultural will of God, and that such passages probably come as close to a representation of part of the supercultural as was possible under limitations of the language and culture form in which the account came. Jesus' summation of the Ten Commandments, of course, goes even farther in "deculturalizing" them: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God...and...thy neighbor as thyself."[22]

However, a little reflection will show that even in the Ten Commandments there are touches of the cultural, and the making of "graven images" is relative to the use to which they are to be put. The Jews would not even speak the name of Yahweh lest they "take it in vain." We have already touched on the question of "labor", and we find also that the word "Sabbath" is relative, for we observe not Saturday but Sunday. A traditional Chinese pattern of respect for father and mother we would consider to be family despotism, and an American's loving respect for his parents would be considered by the Chinese family to be most loose, familiar, and uncouth. The commandment against killing we know from other passages in the Scriptures to be decidedly relative. God commanded the Israelites to kill in war, and to execute the murderer. The soldier and the executionist were, therefore, not covered by the sixth commandment. Adultery, stealing, "false witness" and coveting cannot be considered outside of the cultural setting.

I feel that those parts of Scripture which give us evaluations of human motives and emotions, human attitudes and personalities, give us the deepest insight into God's ultimate will, and that to understand the revelation in

terms of God's will for our behavior we will have to learn to look behind the cultural facade to see as much as we can of what the Word indicates about those questions. The cultural examples given us are thereby not lost. They provide most valuable examples of the way in which God's will was performed in another cultural setting to help us see how we may perform it in ours.

Throughout the Biblical record, when God wished to change cultural behavior He usually did so from within the culture. Jesus, the prophets, the apostle Paul working in Europe--all worked under the guidance of the Spirit within their own culture. In Jesus' case it was in a sense a foreign culture in that He deliberately took on a form which was foreign to the essential nature of God, yet He grew up in it and chose to be "enculturated" in the normal way of any Jewish lad. Missionary work in the sense of the evangelist belonging to one culture going to minister in another drastically different one is very slight in the Scriptural examples we have. In the missionary situation the missionary cannot escape from his culture, and culture must be a carrier of the gospel, just as it is in the original revelation, but the more change and development comes through the influence of the Spirit working within and the less from without, the better we will be duplicating the Biblical picture.

What God's specific will is for a particular people at a particular time and place is a matter relative both to his ultimate, over-all will (which we cannot know except through the cultural screen in which Revelation came) and to the people and situation. The only way we can really do the will of God is to study by the guidance of His Spirit the manifestations of His supercultural will as we find them behind the facade of the Scriptures, to know Him as best we can through His Word and His indwelling presence, and to adapt our behavior, by His grace, to be in the closest conformity to Him under the Spirit's leading as is possible in our cultural matrix. The missionary will encourage his Christian non-Western friends to do the same.

Samarin objects, however, "For example, one should not establish an episcopal church government simply because the society is characterized by strong kings and subordinate lords. The question of church government is not an anthropological but a theological one. Before beginning to apply his knowledge of a culture to the establishment of an indigenous church, the missionary must be convinced that either the congregational or the episcopal or some other form of church government is the kind Jesus Christ meant for every society, all over the world and at all times."

The difficulties here are many. Jesus Christ, for one thing, gave no indication of wanting any particular form of church government for any society, or any church government at all, for that matter. Church government stems from after His death. If God dealt with His people at one time on the basis of their clan-structure, as he did with the Israelites, and on the basis of a heirarchy patterned after the systems of nobility in the Church of England, and on the basis of simple democratic systems patterned on the new democracy developing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has He chosen the peoples of the younger churches today to have a foreign system of church government imposed upon them?

It is, furthermore, not the place of the missionary to "establish" any kind of church government himself. Keitzman has made this very clear: "...is such a church really an indigenous one when the form of it is decided upon by the missionary?"[24] "Even raising the question of how soon the church is to become indigenous betrays the fact that the missionary is considered to be the judge of the fitness..."[25]

The place of the missionary in the development of the church organization is to foster, with his sympathy and understanding, an attitude by which the Christians will feel the need for banding together and developing a patterned way of working together under the leadership of the Spirit. There may be certain goals which he will want to keep tactfully before them, and there may be mistakes he

can help them to avoid, not by legislating, but by helping them to see where inadvised action might lead. There may be counsel and guidance if such is sought, but if there is any imposition of the missionary viewpoint on such purely cultural matters as organization the missionary is no longer planting the church in native soil but is transplanting Western culture into another setting. The missionary's job is to teach what the church is in terms of the congregation of Christians working together and worshiping in common. The need for organized relationship is a lesson of church history and a maxim of anthropology for any kind of society. To see the church established is a prime goal of any worth-while missionary. The forms, however, can come from the experience of the people, just as they did in Bible times.

I do not know how possible it is for human missionaries to fulfill the ideal drawn in Keitzman's conclusion, but we had better consider it seriously: "If culture change is to be the inevitable accompaniment of the preaching of the Gospel, then we must recognize the fact that the conflict should go on within the culture. The missionary should be so trained that he will not be a cause, a contributing factor, or a participant in the conflict. If this is not true, the preaching of the Gospel immediately carries with it the added weight of a cultural content which is completely irrelevant to the acceptance of the salvation message, and that can only make the acceptance of that message more difficult."[26]

Is the conceptual contrast between ethnocentrism and cultural relativism complete? That is, are they conceptual poles? I do not believe so. There are differences between cultures as between races, but ethnocentrism, (like racism) overlooks objective, factual differences and emotionalizes real or fancied differences always to the detriment of the other group. Ethnocentrism is always bad, although we are all tinged with it no matter how carefully we try to think.

The opposite of ethnocentrism (as of racism) is unemotional and clear-eyed understanding of true differences.

Some of these differences are such that one trait is better than another. We would be wise to apply "better" and "worse" not to whole cultures but only to specific traits, and be sure to state our viewpoint. The gun is a "better" weapon than a stone-headed spear from the standpoint of killing efficiency, a "worse" one from the standpoint of gang control of the city waterfronts (defined as undesirable). A non-ethnocentric view is not incompatible with such understanding of values on a cross-cultural basis.

"Relative cultural relativism" is a part of the non-ethnocentric view. In his clear-eyed examination of culture the "Biblical relativist" sees that much of what theology has decreed to be absolute is not, that much of theological difference of view arises out of the ethnocentrism of theologians and their followers, and that God is not culture-bound.

Will an understanding of the cultural element in Christianity lead to a weakening of the desire to plant the church? No, but it should weaken some of our desire toward cultural imperialism, which is no small factor in contemporary missions. A clear-eyed thinking on the cultural and supercultural will not lessen a commitment to the responsibility of the church--to the Great Commission--but it will replace the wild-eyed" as soon as our people got converted they started washing and cutting their hair" school of missions with the planting and growth of the church in non-Western soil.

NOTES

1. Practical Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 7, pp. 108-19.

2. ibid., pp. 120-21.

3. Eugene A. Nida, Customs and Cultures; Anthropology for Christian Missions, New York: Harper and Brothers, pp. 48-52.

4. ibid., p. 49.

5. ibid., pp. 50-51

6. ibid., p. 52

7. ibid., n. 22, p. 282

8. "A Christian View of Anthropology," Modern Science and Christian Faith, Wheaton, Ill: Van Kampen Press, 1950, pp. 103-4, 134-5, 136-7, 138-143, 146-8, 190-2.

9. op. cit., pp. 110-1

10. "A Christian View of Anthropology," p. 147

11. "Theology and/or Anthropology," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 7, pp. 120-1.

12. p. 120

13. George R. Horner. "A Field Method: The Culture-Personality Approach," Practical Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 29-34.

14. p. 33

15. p. 121

16. Matthew 5:21-2 ff.

17. Nida lists by way of illustration some of the familiar Biblical accounts which must be taken "relatively": Customs and Cultures, pp. 50-2. I have noted some others: "A Christian View of Anthropology," pp. 134-5.

18. op. cit., pp. 99, 102-5, 136-43, 187-92.

19. Samarin, p. 121

20. "Anthropology and the Minister," Practical Anthropology Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2.

21. Mark 2:27

22. Matthew 22-37-39

23. op. cit., p. 120

BRIEF NOTES ON THE MISSION ACTIVITY AT CUCHIBAMBA,[1] ECUADOR, A SIERRA QUECHUA COMMUNITY

William and Marie Reyburn

I

Introduction

The purpose of this brief statement is to set forth some of the ethnographic detail gathered in Cuchibamba and Guano and to suggest how this mission may more effectively utilize local cultural forms in carrying out its mission endeavor. This paper is divided into two parts: I, Descriptive ethnography and II, Missionary endeavor in the light of the areal ethnography.

In the process of compiling data the writers have not confined their activities to those aspects of Quechua life which are most closely related to the work of the mission, but rather have tried to grasp a general view of life in this area. However, there are some facets of life which are more relevant to mission activities than others. Section I will, therefore, be restricted to a discussion of the former. As this study was done in a comparatively short time much time being given to language analysis and learning; it must be borne in mind that these statements are subject to expansion and perhaps many to correction. Many of the categories need to be investigated in much more detail for a clearer comprehension of their interrelationships. It is hoped that the mission will follow up these leads and join us in penetrating the matrix of Quechua culture for a better understanding of the dynamics of Highland Quechua life and thought. It is not the writers' impression that missions are working in the dark without the help of anthropological technique. Rather we believe that this attitude known as anthropology will open many vistas into the warp and woof of life that traditional missionary methods are incapable of.

The anthropological approach may be summed up as a descriptive method which attempts systematically to understand the relationships obtaining throughout the various phases

of the life of a given group of people. In addition to discovering the network of cultural relationships within a group, anthropological method attempts to uncover the historical processes at work which provide for change in cultures. Since missions are instruments of change it is extremely important that missions understand the structure of the organism they are changing and the implications of these changes for that organism. This often requires a re-evaluation of what is considered "Christian" and what is just wholesale importation of Grade A USA culture with all of its historical European mixture. It requires the careful sifting of cherished traditions and culturally determined modes of thought to avoid arbitrary decisions which often are otherwise conventionally looked upon as "Christian." Many of these arbitrary ideas appear illogical and unintelligible to the people the missionary is attempting to reach.

It is not possible to comprehend the dynamics of Quechua life without a sustained and intimate contact with the people. This is possible mainly through participation in and observation of life as it is lived day by day. Due to the location of the house we found here a severe restriction. The use of Quechua, inadequate as it was, opened up for us many insights into Quechua personality that were unresponsive to Spanish. Participation and observation in a continued close contact, using Quechua, of course, will bring to light numerous important aspects which until now have not become apparent.

The writers believe there are two cardinal points to emphasize in connection with this work. The first is that cultures need not be attacked and destroyed for the accomplishment of mission endeavors, but change should take place by meaningful substitution. Second, cultural change via substitution, if it is to be successful (i.e. meaningful in the culture), must be based on existent functioning cultural forms. Existing forms which have meaning are the stepping stones to efficient change. New ideas as well as practices must find their analog in the culture to serve as vehicles for the expression of new ways of thought. In the

first section we will attempt to state briefly some of the social, religious and material aspects of Cuchibamba culture which appear to be relevant to the mission program.

I. DESCRIPTIVE ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

A. Social Culture

This section will outline the main features which develop the mature Quechua personality from birth to death, i.e., the life cycle of the individual. The Quechua child comes into the world attended by an atmosphere of spiritualism, physical jeopardy and love. Abnormalities at birth are always traceable directly to taboos which have been violated by the pregnant mother. Intoxication of both husband and wife often results in fights and injuries which produce abortions and premature births. Delivery is accomplished by the attendance of an unsanitary partero (male or female) who places the parturient woman in a kneeling position with hands resting on an arm rest in front of her. An onion is often pushed into the throat to produce vomiting, which in turn exerts diaphragm pressure on the uterine contractions. The father of the child is not admitted to the delivery, nor is he permitted to see his child until 12 to 24 hours after birth. Only on occasions of apparent death of the mother is the father allowed to approach his wife's side. The placenta cord is cut with a fresh blade of saw grass. Knives are prohibited, as this is believed to constitute a danger for the early life of the infant. Following the cutting of the cord a needle and thread are passed up and down near the corners of the infant's mouth. This pantomimic operation is said to prevent the extreme growth of the mouth. A large mouth is considered to be a serious defect and ugly. Following the removal of the placenta (wawamama) the partero digs a hole near one of the inside corner posts of the house and buries the rags, blood and placenta. The father is not allowed to observe this performance, which is accompanied by special prayers to the virgin, saints and volcanos for the protection of the young child's life. There are probably further spiritual or soul stuff implications in this act. The child is then bathed

in tepid water, swaddled, and placed beside the mother. The father hurries about to find the foods most desired by his wife and has these ready to be served when she awakes. The husband then sleeps apart from his wife so as not to roll on or injure the infant. Continence usually is practiced for approximately a year following birth. Some say that if a man is honorable he will not have relations with other women during this continence period. Continence is essential since there is no knowledge of mechanical contraceptives nor of the cycle of ovulation. An immediate pregnancy would mean the loss of milk for the nursing infant. Both parents caress and love the newborn infant, especially the mother. To sum up the birth process, then, we find six major concepts obtaining: 1. Taboos govern many of the acts of the gestating female. Failure to observe these result in abnormal delivery or defective infants. 2. Non-sanitary methods of delivery with accompanying infection and injuries. 3. Spiritual concepts associated with the placenta and future well-being of the infant. 4. Secondary role of the husband in childbirth. 5. Sexual restraints imposed for long periods in order to insure continued lactation. 6. An attitude of love and devotion exhibited toward the infant by both parents.

The post-parturient mother may remain in bed up to a month, depending on the availability of relatives to care for her. Women in less favored circumstances may be up and about their duties in a couple of days.

Naming of the child follows birth, and few seem to have a name selected beforehand. Either the mother or father may name the child. Names usually are taken from the saints' day the child is born on or the name of some nearby special holy day. Social placement begins within the first 15 days of life, when the child is baptized by the local priest. The father of the child selects the padrino and madrina de bautismo. These are likely to be near relatives of the first or second ascending generation. It is most common to select the grandparents of the first born and siblings of grandparents for the second born. For subsequent children most any relative may be selected, even

cholos or whites. The infant is dressed in the gift clothes of the padrinos, swaddled and carried on the back of a female relative in the company of the father, padrino and, perhaps, madrina de bautismo, and other near relatives to the local Catholic church. Here the priest asks the padrino de bautismo for the child's name and the names of both parents, who are checked in the registro. The former is recorded in the registro de bautismos and the latter are checked to ascertain whether or not both parents have been baptized as infants. If they have not (which is extremely rare) a special rite must be held for the parents, with additional costs. Baptism takes place in the church by undressing the infant and sprinkling it with holy water. Some Latin liturgy is pronounced, and salt is placed in the infant's mouth. The priest blesses the child and its parents, registers its name and date of birth and charges approximately 30 sucres ($1.80). The father of the child and the child's padrinos de bautismo exchange words of friendship and loyalty, which indicate the compadre relationship between them is binding whether the child lives or dies. The infant is then placed on the back of one of the women of the family and sent home to the waiting mother. The rest of the men and women go to the local cantinas to drink to the future of the child and parents. The office of the padrino de bautismo entails some expenses. He is expected to furnish the clothes the infant wears to the baptism, pay the priest and provide the post baptismal drinks. Other obligations will be discussed below. This drinking commonly results in complete intoxication. It is common for the priest to refuse baptism to anyone having been associated with evangelicals. The usual method, then, is for the parents to pay extra or go to another church for baptism where they are unknown. Such was the case of one man who was employed by the mission.

The second act of social placement for girl infants is ear lobe perforation, which is performed at approximately two months of age. This act is performed by specialists, usually old women, who use a needle and string. After the hole is opened a string is moved back and forth in the opening each day until the inside is healed over and the

perforation remains. Small earrings are then put through the openings and worn almost continually. There appear to be no celebrations or public ado with this act.

Quechuas classify a child as wawa from birth through age four. During the wawa period of socialization the infant is the subject of much loving and caressing by its parents. The child is in almost continuous bodily contact with the mother from the time she has regained her strength until the child is old enough to attempt walking. If the child is a third or fourth one his contact may be with an older sibling. During the greater part of the first two years the child is swaddled continually and bound with fajas which inhibit any movement but the slight side and back motion of the head. Usually the carrying sheet is covered by a shawl which completely cuts the infant off from the air and light, and also protects it from the dust. Children of this age are bathed every few days depending on the amount of warm sunshine and available water. Bathing consists of holding the infant with the hand on his stomach and splashing water over it with the free hand. The wawa period is characterized by toilet training and the acquisition of language. For the most part wawas in this area are monolingual. Toilet training consists of encouraging the wawa to inform the mother when a bowel movement is imminent. There is, however, no punishment connected with this training. It is believed that a wawa "does not realize" because he has no language. Hence, much opportunity is given for the small child to learn to recognize the names of objects and to utter simple phrases. "Only when a child has language and can comprehend should discipline be utilized." Informants say that a child of eight months will pinch the mother to indicate its desire for a bowel movement. This is taught the child, perhaps, by the playful pinching and tapping of the baby by the mother when she cleans the feces from the child's clothes. A child is able to handle his own toilet practice by the time he begins to walk, approximately one and a half years of age. This is facilitated by the lack of clothes on the lower extremities and the non-existence of mechanical disposal methods.

Beginning at age five a child is classified as a wambra. This period initiates the second phase of social placement, which again is a Catholic rite, first communion. Children not having had their first communion in this period are talked about, the same as an unbaptized infant. It is mainly during the wambra period (5-12) that the child learns kinship terminology, reciprocal obligations of the padrino-ahijada relationship and sexual division of labor. He also attends fiestas--perhaps sitting for the first time, if a male, in the men's meza, attends mass, communion, baptisms of his own siblings, weddings, funerals, and learns the stories of the ancient Incas which constitute his legend filled education. This is the most developmental period of the young Quechua's life. He receives from his padrino gifts which he is taught to respect, animals such as cuyes which he is to care for. He participates in his first family mingas to pick corn or thrash peas. He sees the "hombres de respecto" intoxicate themselves with chicha and guarapo; he watches and listens with fear and anticipation as his mother and father return from a fiesta, drunken and fighting. If his parents are aware of the values of education, at least literacy, he will enter school and begin his never-to-end contact with the Spanish language. (Here we are thinking of the youngest present day wambra, who is not representative of Quechua culture.) The school wambra is the product of a new era. If his parents are indulgent, as most are, at fiesta times he will experience his first real intoxication. If he is an average Cuchibamba Quechua he has tasted chicha from his very first days. "We find it helps them to stop crying," the parents remark. During the last year of his wambra period, (12-13), he will most likely have his first sexual contact while attending sheep, or in the house of a young girl whose parents are at a fiesta. He receives no instruction concerning sexual behavior, nor does he know the systematic facts about reproduction. His sexual education is almost a visual education. In the cramped quarters of his wasi he inevitably will observe the sexual behavior of his mother and anxious father, who comes home only once every 15 days. Birth and reproduction are commonplace to him. At the first signs of puberty he can find ample expression of his sexual

desires. His parents are well aware of this and attempt to protect their daughters from too premature relations, but this is often in vain as they must leave them to guard the house while trips are made to Quito, the quebrada, and to gather wood. A wambra learns the duties of a man or woman and begins early to perform these. A man must learn to plow, weave fajas, play an instrument, play volley ball or soccer, dance in the fiesta, and plant quinoa (but never corn). He must learn to share with women the duties of carrying water from the quebrada, cut and carry wood, tend the stock, pasture the animals, and care for younger siblings. Young girls learn which seeds are planted by women only, how to spin thread from the distaff to the spindle, to wash and clean wool, cook, embroider, wash the family laundry in the quebrada, make chicha for the fiesta, harvest frejol, etc. There are duties that a woman never attempts: masonry, carpentry and iron work; men are restricted from participating in women's work only where nature intervenes, such as breast feeding, giving birth, etc.

The third period of development is known as medio soltero or medio soltera (ages 12-15). In this period at the present time girls are handling the full run of the house in the absence of the mother. Their main job is carrying water, cooking, washing clothes and caring for younger brothers and sisters. Some young men are seeking employment in Quito. This period represents for some boys a transitional state from community and family life to city living. However, in this period many boys are still at home.

The fourth stage is called soltero or soltera (ages 15-20). At this time the boys and girls usually have decided on their future mate and have made their intentions known to their parents. This period is culminated in marriage, the biggest event in life, and for the first time in an individuals life he or she is recognized by the community to be an adult. A man of eighteen who is married is considered much more mature and socially acceptable than one of 21 or 22 who is single.

To sum up, then, the first phase of the life cycle,

birth to marriage, which is divided into four stages of physical development and social recognition, is characterized by:

1. Catholic church rites of infant baptism and confirmation or first communion. These are the only social placement acts which receive public sanction.
2. Age gradation provides for the social stratification from birth to marriage.
3. Enculturation, or the acquiring of one's culture, is concentrated in the wambra period of 5-12 when participation and observation of life are most formative.
4. Separation of males from the community takes place in stages three and four. However, males for the most part seek their mates in the community and prefer to keep them in the community after marriage.
5. Marriage is the nadir of these developmental stages and the only act which accords one a socially sanctioned status in the community.

Marriage is, perhaps, the most important series of events in an individual's life. We say series of events because marriage consists of four separate stages. Courtship consists mainly in secret sexual relations. If a girl becomes pregnant she tells her father, who she thinks is at fault. The father attempts to force a marriage by pressure on the boy's family. There are cases where no premarital sexual contacts occur, e.g. one man says he loved his wife four years before asking for her in marriage and had no relations with her during that time. Of the four stages of marriage outlined below three are post-conquest additions of the Roman church. The stages of marriage ceremonies are:
1. xacu manigri. This is the petitioning of the girl's parents by the boy's parents. A girl informs her parents as to the boy of her choice during the soltera period, and the boy tells his parents, also. If the boy's parents accept the idea they will approach the girl's parents with gifts for the girl and family. Usually there is some discussion between parents. The girl's parents may criticize the boy's laziness or his lack of land holdings. It seems to be the prerogative of the girl's parents to demand that the boy change his attitude or job, etc. The boy's father

will normally answer the criticism of the girl's father and stand behind his son as guarantor for the union. After it is finally agreed that the union is satisfactory gifts are presented to the girl, advice is exchanged by the parents, and the chicha begins to flow. The xacu manigri ceremony is the aboriginal form of marriage union and is socially sanctioned by the community. Here this union constitutes a basis for living together. From this time on the newlyweds live in the house of either in-law. Usually residence is taken up with the one which has more room to spare. Following the xacu manigri is the civil wedding, civil kazaricina. The civil wedding follows closely on the xacu manigri. For this stage and the following two the groom selects a padring de matrimonio, who is in charge of all the arrangements to follow. After civil marriage, which is relatively unimportant socially, the padrino de matrimonio is expected to set the date for the xatun kazari or religious wedding, literally, big marriage. Some time may elapse between the first and last ceremonies, such that one or two children may be born before enough money is on hand to defray the expenses of the xatun kazari. However, if this ceremony is delayed too long the alcaldes of Cochibamba may force the wedding. Members of the padrino's family and others are asked to provide money and food for the celebration. Since each one is indebted to the other in a criss-cross network of intrafamily obligations it is usually possible to raise whatever is needed. Between civil kazaricina and xatun kazari is the church rite of flocomo in which the priest registers the names of the couple to be married, checks on their civil marriage, and promises to announce for four consecutive Sundays the date of the wedding. This may cost sixty to seventy sucres. When the preparations are finally ready, the date set and the flocomo announcements made, xatun kazari gets under way. Food and drink in lavish quantities are readied at the padrino's house as well as at the homes of the parents of the bride and groom. On Saturday afternoon members of the families of the bride and groom begin to visit, and activities continue until the following Friday or Saturday. Visitors are expected to contribute one to five sucres to help cover the expenses. The real rhythym of the religious marriage begins to be

felt on Sunday morning at four o'clock, when the band appears. Visitors then begin to stream in. There is drinking chatting and band music until Sunday afternoon when the entire group moves to the church. Following a very brief ceremony the group returns to the padrino's house in the community. The members of the band sing songs of advice to the young couple. Then the padrino distributes candles among those present, and they form a circle around the bride and groom. More songs are sung to them. They admonish the husband not to mistreat his wife, not to be lazy, to support his wife and family. They advise the wife not to spend her time sleeping but to care for her children and wash her husband's clothes. The singing finished, the couple are forced into the house and made to get into bed. All leave the room but the padrino, who takes from the couple the special wedding attire he has lent them for the occasion. The following day the feasting and drinking with band music continues. The men form a meza. A special cup of chicha is passed back and forth to the men sitting at the meza. A meza is held at each of the three houses over a period of three days. With each day's feasting the number of participants decreases. On Thursday the padrino takes the couple and friends with him to Calderon or one of the local cantinas, and they drink all day. By Friday all activity has ceased, and the marriage is completed. No marriage is fully sanctioned until the completion of xatun kazari. This final stage of marriage provides the individual with his second padrino. Padrino de matrimonio is commonly a paternal uncle. Obligations of a padrino de matrimonio following the actual wedding are: 1. To counsel the young couple about matters pertaining to marriage and family. 2. To punish or reprimand the groom if he mistreats his wife. 3. To help in any financial or material way when difficulties arise. If a wife has a complaint against her husband she has no right to eject him from the house. Her recourse is to their padrino de matrimonio, who should listen to her complaint and advise her as to what to do. He is a constant mediator in marriage difficulties. In order to correct marriage problems the padrino may use "talk", which is a severe social restraint in the community. Shame can be brought to bear most easily by the community

talk. Verbal criticism as a social control is one of the strongest mediums of restraint found here.

In Cuchibamba the extended family is a rather closely knit unit. This becomes evident when one begins studying kinship terminology and gathering geneologies. Although there is no point in going into detail here concerning kinship structure it will be relevant to point out that age gradation is probably the key to kinship terms, i.e., being older or younger determines in large part the appropriate kin terms that are employed. An extended family or kin group, i.e., all those named Simbana who recognize a consanguineal and affinal relationship, have a kin consciousness, a sense of belonging together as a unit. Further indications of this feeling are evidenced in the reciprocal work groups or mingas that are formed from these kinship units. Within the kin groups authority rests in the older members, another reflection of the concept of age as determining status and prestige in the group. Although there appears to be little social stratification among inter-kin units, there is an awareness of relative sizes of kin groups, e.g., some apellidos are said to be grandes while others are bajos. The factor determining this is the size of the population having a given apellido. There are so social or economic restrictions imposed on one group by the other. This unbalancing of numbers is tending to reduce the bajos and increase the grades with the result that family names will become fewer and fewer. This may indicate that there were more family names at an earlier date.

On the community level a rather sharp division exists between Guano and Cuchibamba. There are apparent historical differences as the dialects differ in some points. The antagonism between these two communities has become apparent since the discussion of piped water has been brought up.

It is not possible to understand the structure of family or community life in this area without a consideration of economic conditions which have given rise to a female and adolescent type community of families. This aspect will be discussed under C. Material Culture.

The vast majority of men in Guano and Cuchibamba are forced to seek employment outside the community. A man's time is spent largely in Quito where he has a cheap rented room, eats in unsanitary hovels and performs unskilled labor in various sections of the city. His contacts are with white and mestizo Spanish speakers as well as with relatives. Take-home pay every fifteen days will depend on his thriftiness, addiction to drink and kind of employment. His life revolves about in a world entirely different from that of his family at home. His ambition is to earn money to buy more land in the community for his wife and family to work, and land which he can put out on shares. It even appears that the average man prefers to work in the city, even if he has sufficient land to maintain him and his family here. The women in the community say they prefer to live here even on a partidario basis as it is not desirable to live in the city where there is no land to work and prices are high.

A family in this area is an early rising group. It is common for adults and older people to go to bed at 8 or 9 p.m. and get up at 3-4 a.m. Often trips are made to the quebrada at 1 a.m. in the cool moonlight. Older men and women can be seen working their plots in the moonlight at 1 or 2 a.m. Everyone in the family is up and about their daily tasks by 5 o'clock.

Security is said to be the most important thing in life. Security is had by hard work and by not having sickness and by living at peace with "Nuestro Senor." Several informants have said that money helps to provide security but that this alone will never give security. "Without hard work there is no security." Concomitant with security is the desire to have a family and love as essentials to a good life.

A married man is chosen to "pasar fiesta." This is one of the major facets of Quechua life and will be discussed along with prestige and respect in the next section, as well as concepts of death and burial.

We may say, then, that marriage in its various manifestations ushers a young soltero or soltera into the midst of adult Quechua life. Following marriage comes:

1. The inevitable family separation for subsistence purposes.
2. The establishment of the new relationship between the couple and the padrino de matrimonio, which involves another reciprocal obligation on the intra-family level.
3. The third strong tie with Catholic social control.
4. Awareness of belonging to a new age group with its incumbent social obligations, participating in fiesta and other religious activities, serving as padrino de bautismo and eventually, de matrimonio.
5. New motivations to increase one's earning capacity with the desire to acquire more land and possess a degree of security for one's family and self.

(Continued in July-August issue)

NOTES

1. The place names, Cuchibamba and Guano are fictitious, as are personal names.

REVIEW

Speaking of Indians. Ella Deloria. New York: Friendship Press. 1944. 163 pp. $0.60.

This small volume is one of the most striking accounts of "kinship in action" in anthropological literature. Written by a native Dakota Indian who grew up in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Speaking of Indians constitutes a first hand, vivid account of her own people by one who was trained in anthropology and linguistics under Franz Boas at Columbia University. Miss Deloria thus has achieved a marked combination of scientific objectivity and cultural empathy rarely found in ethnographic literature.

Part I is a brief general treatment on the American Indian. Part II is a portrayal of kinship, education, religion and economics in the old tribal life, showing clearly how the whole system of values and action is structured by the importance of kinship relationships and their respective subtle demands upon individual behavior. Part III is a description of the same categories of culture after the reservation period began, showing the marked changes which not only affected each aspect of the culture, but also resulted in severe repercussions in many areas of life.

This is an excellent little book for supplementary reading in classes in social organization, American ethnology or comparative sociology. It is particularly valuable for missionaries and others who work among peoples who are oriented toward kinship.

James O. Buswell, III

Wheaton College
Wheaton, Illinois

NOTES AND NEWS

Nida Holds Translator's Conference in Liberia

William E. Welmers reports concerning the conference held by Dr. Eugene Nida of the American Bible Society during March for missionaries in Liberia. Translation problems, language learning and literacy were the major topics of discussion for the week long program. The conference was attended by missionaries representing almost every language spoken in Liberia. This conference was one of many held by Dr. Nida over a period of several months in many parts of the African continent.

Claude Stipe to Teach at Fort Wayne Bible College

Mr. Claude Stipe, who was awarded a master of arts degree in anthropology from UCLA in June, 1955, has been employed as instructor in anthropology and missions at Fort Wayne Bible College. The College contemplates gradual development of a complete college anthropology program.

Herskovits Lectures at Wheaton

Melville J. Herskovits, prominent American anthropologist and head of the department at Northwestern University, lectured at Wheaton College on May 18 of this year. His visit was sponsored by The Wheaton Anthropological Society.

American Scientific Affiliation and Evangelical Theological Society Hold Joint Meeting

Subjects of anthropological interest were included in the program of the Joint Meeting of the ASA and ETS at Winona Lake, Indiana, June 21-24. Under the theme, Problem Areas of Science and the Bible, Bible chronology, geological dating and racial unity and dispersion were discussed. James O. Buswell, III, anthropologist from Wheaton College presided over the discussion group on race.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS

Mr. Herman ASCHMANN; Heroes 53; Mexico, D. F.
Mr. Philip BAER; 607 W. Walnut; Kokomo, Indiana
Dr. Milton BAKER; 352 Wellington Ave; Chicago, Illinois
Mr. Melvin W. BARNES; 2317 N. Western; Oklahoma City 6
Miss Amy BAUERNSCHMIDT; Xochistlahuaca via Ometepec, Gro.; Mexico
Rev. Turner C. BLOUNT; 302 S. Auburn; Farmington, N. Mex.
M. BORMAN; Casilla 1007; Quito, Ecuador
CALIFORNIA Baptist Theological Seminary Library; Seminary Knolls; Covina, California
Mr. and Mrs. John CRAWFORD; Heroes 53; Mexico, D. F.
Mr. Russell EBERSOLE, Jr; Box 119; Iloilo City, Philippines
Dr. Ralph EICHENBERGER; Gargas Hospital; Ancon; Canal Zone
Dr. Richard ELVEE; 4200 Abbott Ave. S; Minneapolis 10, Minn.
Mr. F. Alton EVEREST; 947 Stanford St; Santa Monica, Calif.
FORT WAYNE Bible College Library; 800 W. Rudisill Blvd. Fort Wayne 6, Indiana
Sr. Don David FOX; San Cristobal, Totonicapan; Guatemala
Mr. Edwin L. FRIZEN, Jr; Box 1831; Manila; Philippine Is.
Mr. Jim FROEHLIG; Wheaton College; Wheaton, Illinois
Mr. Don JOHNSON; Casilla 1007; Quito, Ecuador
Mr. Orville JOHNSON; Casilla 1007; Quito, Ecuador
Mr. Rod JOHNSTON; 9 Avenue Pierre Brossolette; Vitry s/s France
INSTITUTO Linguistico de Verano; Apartado 1007; Quito, Ecuador
Mr. and Mrs. William KIETZMAN; 403 No. Indiana; Bloomington, Indiana
Mr. Willard KINDBERG; Casilla 2492; Lima, Peru
Mr. Guy H. KINNEY; New Berlin, New York
Mr. H. J. KLASSEN; Heroes 53; Mexico 3, D. F.
Mr. John LINDSKOOG; Casilla 1007; Quito, Ecuador
Mr. Howard McKAUGHAN; Box 2270; Manila, Philippines
Mr. Dick McKINNEY; 8810 Norwood Ave; Chestnut Hill; Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Neil NELLIS; 13021 Pomona St; Santa Ana, California
Chap. William C. NEWBERN; Kirkland Air Force Base; Albuquerque, New Mexico

Mr. Loren NUSSBAUM; American Bible Soc; Box 39; Monrovia, Liberia
Mr. Paul R. ORJALA; 443 E. 63rd St; Long Beach 5, Calif.
Miss Carolyn ORR; Casilla 1007; Quito, Ecuador
Dr. W. R. QUINN; London Bible Institute; London, Ontario
Mr. Harley REYNOLDS; S.S. Thomas Lynch; c/o Marine P. O.; Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan
Miss Rachel SAINT; Casilla 1007; Quito, Ecuador
Mrs. Lyndora M. SMITH; Wycliffe Bible Translators; Box 870
Mr. Randall SPIERS; 1270 85th St.; Brooklyn 28, New York
STERLING College Library; Sterling, Kansas
Miss Betty STOUDT; Heroes 53; Mexico, D. F.
Mr. Wesley SWANGER; Casilla 1007; Quito, Ecuador
TORONTO Institute of Linguistics Library; 16 Spadina Road; Toronto 4, Canada
Mr. Glen TURNER; Casilla 1007; Quito, Ecuador
Mr. Timothy M. WARNER; 800 W. Rudisill Blvd; Fort Wayne 6; Indiana
Miss Viola WATERHOUSE; Heroes 53; Mexico 3, D. F.
Mr. Cliff WESTERGREN; Missionary Training Institute; Nyack, New York
WESTERN Baptist Bible College Library; 528 33rd St; Oakland California
WESTERN Conservative Baptist Theological Sem.; S. E. 55th at Hawthorne Blvd; Portland, Oregon
Mr. Herbert WHEALY; Apartado 4; Tixtla, Gro.; Mexico
Miss Helen WOLFRAM; Heroes 53; Mexico, D. F.
Mr. Albert WYLLIE; Igbaja via Ilorin; Nigeria, West Africa